

YOUNG INDIA

Vol. III

JUNE 1920

No. 6

YOUNG INDIA

LIBRARY

Government of India Act
ST. NIHAL SINGH

The Massacre of 1919
A REPORT

Internationalism and India
NORMAN THOMAS

Published monthly by the India Home Rule League of America
1400 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 15 cents a copy. \$1.50 a year.

Entered as second class matter September 16, 1919, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Art Section

Avalokitesvara Bodhinattva

By ARNOLD COOMARSWAMY.

The India Collection houses represented this month representing the Bodhinattva Avalokitesvara seated in the (Gautama) with the right hand raised in the gesture of expression (apabhaya mudra) will represent the period of those achievement in Indian art, and may be considered the most important single piece in the collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It is Buddhist art of at least three years after the time of Buddha, but as it is well known, early Buddhism, like the Upanishads, was not and could not have been the immediate inspiration of a religious art. In the minds of Buddha, early Buddhism has but one goal, and that goal is certainly not a devotional fervor. It was not until the development of theistic (devotional) cults, with their regard towards higher spiritual powers who regarded to prayer that either in Buddhism or Hinduism any necessary new felt for iconographic representations of any divinity other than the popular figures of the Earth Goddess and of guardian nature spirits. The Bodhinattva—a Buddhism is—in a spiritual being (and potentially any individual who is devoted to the cause) devoted to the salvation of the world and postponing his own. No man until all others shall have reached their goal before him. The loving devotion which was directed toward such beings—as best and worship was directed to the Virgin and the Saints of Roman Christianity—could not be content with the

abstract symbols (the tree, the two lotus, the wheel, etc.) which served the purpose of early Buddhist religious. The primitives of this movement are of unappreciated grandeur, but of those of the early Medieval period (4th and 5th century) are somewhat less human, they compensate in the perfection of their grace, the weakness of their movement, and in the tenderness which shows us yet only a slight tendency towards sensuousness. Indian imagery remains to the last an intellectual art, with delicate meanings to be expressed, and a precise problem to be solved. In the later period of devotional making remains apart from the intellectual content, in combination with original virtues of design preserved by canonical tradition, but in the periods of deeper and fiercer expression of Indian thought and spiritual experience through painting and sculpture the gesture and modelling are felt throughout, and there is a perfect correspondence of the forms and forms. In the Avalokitesvara of which we are speaking at present the wisdom of the heart is fully expressed in an outward grandeur dignity of bearing. And what we find here high aesthetic qualities combined with an ethically sympathetic mood, and the appeal of grace and rhythm, a figure such as this may have as any idealization in Indian art for those who held, at the most difficult beauty of the fierce forms of guardian divinity and the supernatural magnificence of the divine mythology.

YOUNG INDIA, June, 1911



AVALOKITESVARA BODHINATTVA.
Borneo, Ceylon. 15th century.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

YOUNG INDIA

Vol. III

JUNE 1925

No. 6

Editorial Notes

Departations Cancelled

We are happy to learn that deposits and proceedings against three Hindus, Bhagwan Singh, H. Sanyal, and Gopal Singh, have been dismissed by the United States Department of Labor. There are still several cases pending which we hope will receive the attention of the American Government shortly.

The decision has lessened the government and bonded the Hindus.

Danger in Reform Act

In an interview which Mr. B. Nihal Singh had with Col. Wedgwood, M. P., the following remarks were made by the latter concerning the Reform Act.

"I would advise Indians," he said, "to abstain from the great danger that threatens their growing national solidarity. Unless they are careful, the Act (the Morley Reform Act), whether that was the intention of the authors or not, will split them into eight Indian. It will make Indians provincial instead of national. It will increase their selfishness. It will make their interests petty. It will set up rivalry among them—a new kind of strife, but a strife such

greater polarization by making nothing that any that exists in India today."

Though we have time and again given the warmest recognition to Mr. Morley for all the good intentions with which he paved the road to freedom for India, it has been always clear to us that the destruction of this road could be nothing less a more perpetration of Britain's hold upon India.

The Government in India seemed early in the war and most recently just when the Reform Bill was under discussion that they could no longer hold the Mahomedans away from the Hindus by their policy of "divide and rule." But bureaucracy has always discovered loopholes in human nature whereby it could find, as long as it holds power, by law of money, privilege and position improved methods for the same policy. One of these methods is to involve the electorate in the country in disputes over Provincial Functions, etc. That this danger has been realized already by public opinion in India is evidenced by the remark of the Independent of Allahabad that "the whole thing becomes divided rather than of good faith, or incapacity of real statesmanship in the authors of the Reform."

Women in Indian Politics

One of the most encouraging signs in the development of Indian political life is the participation of women in public work. We have from all sources that women constitute a very considerable number in audiences at public meetings, and take part in discussions of current topics and the passage of resolutions, to a larger extent than ever before. At the recent Punjab Provincial Conference there were over 1,500 women delegates out of a total number of 1,000. A resolution was presented demanding women's franchise and was adopted unanimously.

In Poona, Bombay, parades have been organized several times within recent months by the women of all classes in a protest against the discrimination practiced in the municipality work regard to the education of girls. While, as a rule, education in general has been proceeding at a rapid pace, that of boys is always more strongly supported than of girls. In an editorial note on this subject the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, remarks:

"The women of Poona have set a noble and courageous example by marching in procession twice along to the Municipal Office, carrying banners and singing songs to demand universal education for girls. One thing was particularly striking. It declared that the putting off of girls' education by three years would mean putting off Home Rule for thirty years. It was particularly noticeable that none was greeted in the procession. High caste Hindu women and 'untouchables' (women ranked according to Hindu rules as be-

low cast) walked in the procession hand in hand."

Famine Again

Once again, after a lapse of several months, we have received word of serious famine conditions—the title in Paris, Belter. Efforts have been made by members of the Provincial Legislature, Council to draw attention of the government to the terrible conditions, and secure a measure of relief. But as far as relief has been done, beyond the investigation of the district by a government official.

The Commissioner who visited the famine-stricken area declared that he had seen women wearing gold ornaments. Therefore it was not necessary to begin any relief work.

A somewhat different picture has been presented by an Indian newspaper, who made personal visits to each of the hamlets in the same district. His report:

"Family life is not so bad as may appear in the affected parts. Households have left their women and children (particularly in search of food). Some families have left their village and have migrated. Children are seen with swollen eyes, reduced to skeletons, and about to die in a few days. Does a day's appetite will not be appeased by the common. Women have no proper clothes in that season. They are ashamed to appear before a stranger, but still they do so, in the hope that their suffering may be alleviated by the sympathy of strangers. Not a particle of grain or salt is to be found in any house."

These facts do not quite agree with those presented by the government official. There is a very logical explanation

tion of the government's report. It is that the Commissioner did not go into the interior of the village, but took the Royal Road. The Commissioner, we may surmise, is following the very methods of his masters, the British bureaucrats, who are fond of taking the Royal Road, and of evading the gradual and magnanimous of their rule, while in the interior the most wretched life is to be observed by the nearest investigation.

The Strike Situation

According to recent reports the strike situation in India, which, as we pointed out in our last issue, was quiet across the several months, appears to have changed for the better. Striking has not ceased throughout the country, but the widespread character of the strikes of January and March has given place to a more sporadic movement.

The latest paper being news of a tailor's strike in Lahore, in which all of the workers in tailor shops throughout the city, without exception, were involved. The demands of the tailor were for an eight hour day and an increase in wages.

From Calcutta, Bombay, comes the news that a strike of the 14,000 mail workers is in progress. The conditions of the workers are so deplorable as to be almost unbelievable, in a country of progress, and under the "enlightened" rule of such a nation as England. The mail hands are made to work for 15 hours a day, from 5:30 A. M. to 5 P. M. For one day's absence they must lose two days' pay. Young boys under fourteen are forced to work for 12 hours and are paid and because of their work is in any way unsatisfactory. The wages received

by the mail hands range from Rs.15 to Rs.20 per month. These facts are taken from a statement of the workers' grievances as published in the *Weekly Chronicle* of March 17.

The demands of the strikers are particularly humble:

1. Working hours to be reduced from 15 to 12.
2. Ceaseless punishment of boys to be discontinued.
3. Working hours of boys to be reduced to six a day.
4. One day only to be deducted for one day's absence.

The mail workers, the report concludes, are unwilling to grant these demands, although their demands have ranged from 100 to 200 percent since 1914.

It is gratifying to note that at a meeting held recently at Tanjong the members of the Tanjong Fused Union emphasized the value of organization and, again, boldly stated their demands for an increase in salary and a reduction of working hours to 8 hour day. This is a decidedly cheerful development in the labor situation in India.

We are not aware exactly to what extent the strikers have been allowing business concerns in the industry of the town involved in each strike, but we are informed by the Department of Commerce that the labor troubles which had occurred in Bombay last January affected the output of the trade mills in the country very considerably. The returns show that the total quantity of yarn spun during the month amounted to 30 million pounds, and that all seven ports to 20 million pounds, as compared with 42

cutting pounds and 45 million pounds respectively, as the corresponding month of the preceding year, which means a decrease of nearly 25 per cent in each year.

Bank in India

A report of banks in India has just been issued by the Director of Statistics. The careful study of banking facilities is seriously considered in the report.

It is a well established fact that India ranks exceedingly low in the scale of banking progress. Whereas in the United Kingdom there are about 1,000 banks and branches for the 45 millions of the population, in India, with its 315,000,000 inhabitants, there are only 250 banks, including branches.

The number of cases in which banks are wanted (according to the report) is 275. This means that the majority of Indian cities and towns—about 200 with a population of 10,000 or over—are without banking facilities. There are about 200 centres of trade where banks are essential for the convenience of the community but where the government has not thought it necessary to establish any.

There is, moreover, great difficulty experienced by Indian merchants in the transaction of business with the existing banks. The control of the banks is in the hands of non-Indians, who are interested primarily in the development of foreign trade, and have little or no desire to co-operate with Indians in the fostering of such domestic commerce and industry as benefits the Indian people. As a result, the big banks in most places are generally useless in the development of

local finance, and instead of aiding, they often seriously hinder, such commerce and industry as is carried on by Indians themselves.

France and England

Last month we pointed out that the very small colonies in India which are under French rule, having a population of only 300,000 are represented in the French National Parliament in Paris by two members, but that the great Indian nation under British rule, which, if we include the Native States, contains a population of more than 300,000,000, is not allowed representation in the British National Parliament in London by a single member. The following fact shows how greatly superior the Indians were under French rule to the Indians under British rule.

In November 1912 a report reached about French colonies in India that a diplomatic "interlocutor" or deal was being arranged either in Paris or London, whereby they would be turned over by France to Great Britain, and then at the future to under British rule. What was the result? Were Indian subjects of France glad to be transferred to the government of Great Britain? On the contrary, there was immediate alarm and indignation. A telegram was sent at once to the French Foreign Minister in Paris saying, "We protest with all our heart." This was followed by a strong letter of protest signed by prominent representatives of all the French colonies, pointing out how great would be their loss and disadvantage, were they under France they possess the right to vote, representation in the French Parlia-

ment, and local autonomy, whereas under Great Britain they would be treated as a subject people without political rights.

Commissioners to Indian Soldiers

Up to 1907, during the first three years of the war, while hundreds of thousands of Indian soldiers were fighting in Britain's behalf, not a single commission was allowed to an Indian soldier! How is today there was a change! Thus for the first time in the history of the British connection with India, commissions were granted to Indians. How many? Most India's population of 315,000,000, India's army of more than 1,000,000 troops, as loyal and as brave as Englishmen, were generously granted, not 3,000 commissions, which would have been a small share, and not even 500, but 500—and these of the very lowest grade, chiefly lieutenants and captains!

You have not persons who wonder that India is not content with the Message of British rule!

The Rye's Burden

Since returning Spence has just been published in an Indian newspaper giving the expenditure by the government on the different services, and the relation of these expenditures to the benefits conferred upon the Indian population.

According to revised scales of payment for services about Rs.100,000 will be expended the present year on the payment of civil and other government work, including educational and

charitable services. This is about 4 per cent of the nation's total revenue of Rs.2,500,000 (according to the last budget).

The military expenditure for the year 1920-1921 has been 4½ per cent of the total budget. The expenditure on railways has been 2½ per cent. Adding the 6 per cent expended on streets, we see that about 13 per cent of the total revenue is devoted to the military, railway and streets, and 8 per cent to the education, agricultural improvements, etc.

The Indian tax payer, in other words, sees thousands of his taxes go to the feeding of British officials, while he starves and suffers for want of education, sanitation, and the necessary tools with which to pursue his occupation.

YOUNG INDIA

1404 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

EDITORIAL STAFF

J. T. Southland	Editor
H. B. Macdonald	Managing Editor
R. E. Kinsley	Assistant Editor
M. Miller	
D. S. Vignoe, Jr.	General Manager

Associate Correspondent
Special Art Contributor

ADVISORY BOARD

J. T. Southland	Chairman
H. B. Macdonald	
R. E. Kinsley	
Frederic Harkness	
Frank Rindley	
Agnes Tschann	Secretary

The editors do not hold themselves responsible for opinions expressed in articles contributed to Young India.

Please make checks payable to Young India.

Punjab Disturbances Report

The Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress, the main representative political organisation in India, has just issued a complete Report of its findings on the Punjab tragedy of 1919. Following the rage of bitter attacks the Rowlatt Act had provoked in British Indian public opinion was so wrought up that the Government felt compelled to appoint a Committee (known as the Hunter Committee) to investigate the causes of the disturbances, and thus, if possible, still the vision of protest. But the official Committee was pursued in its task by and on space. Prominent Indians desired to co-operate with it and offered to it valuable testimony. But this testimony and their co-operation were refused. Throughout the Indian National Congress, looking it to be of the highest possible importance that the truth and the whole truth should be brought to light, appointed a Committee of its own to conduct an independent, impartial and full enquiry. This Committee entered upon its investigations at once. Its members travelled to the places where the disturbances had taken place and gathered evidence from 1700 witnesses (two of these statements being incorporated in the Report. The remainder was furnished voluntarily, although a statement were received that they must be prepared to bear witness, as well as accusation and repression by the government, for allegations that they might make. It is thus gratifying to find in the Report in many statements from witnesses who had observed and suffered from the cruelty of the

government officials and soldiers, and who had been bold enough to present the truth without fear of consequences.

The contents observed by the writers of the Report as the gathering of evidence, their order in bringing it, and their aim for verification of facts and statements, is method throughout. "It seems as though those who were in had the conscience and the self-interest of men," remarks Mr. Harkness, President of the recent Punjab Provincial Conference.

Without doubt the Report forms an important aspect a landmark on the history of India. As a Calcutta paper has said, it is one of the really "great documents through which civilisation and humanity have spoken out against barbarism, inhumanity and iniquity" in the high places of authority and power. It recalls the fact that the Indian Administration required a thorough enquiry, and the Committee has made such an exposure. The Report is almost universally accepted as truth and nothing but the truth. Differences of opinion have arisen only regarding the judgment as to what should be a punishment concerning the officers and the offenders. The previously unswerving opinion of the press on the case over turns of the Report has been well expressed by *The Hindu* of Madras which says: "In comparison with the government's Hindu inquiry the investigation made by the Indian National Congress runs to heights of impartiality and thoroughness of investigation that ought to silence critics and shame the doubters. It is sober and restrained in

most have had a definite plan in mind before they chose to attack the people like very cheap." The absence of the official mind at the time may be realised from the following sentences of British officers themselves. Col Smith is reported by his assistant to have told him that "General Dyer was coming and he would bombard the city. He drew diagrams and showed us how the city would be shelled and how it would be used to the ground in half an hour." Thus a "sweeping blow" would be given to the Indian public. The existence of the official mind here is so brutal, and its only thought was to the manner of taking revenge upon the population. Another official in Amritsar is reported by a Lahore lawyer to have said, "For every European life one thousand Indians could be sacrificed." Still another official declared: "You saw things terrible in the cold reserve with which a couple of the most blood-curdling atrocities."

The Report tells England about the beginning of the brutal (sweeping of houses) on the part of the people, as their protest against the passage of the Rowlatt Act, and its culmination in the firing upon a peaceful gathering by British troops, with the resulting mob violence—burning of houses, cutting of wires, the killing of two Englishmen and the wounding of two English women.

The Report declares that it is a judgment the people were at every stage under gross provocation, and that "there was no room for firing." In India it has become too much "the custom with the executive and the military never to run any risk or to

put it in another way, to count Indian lives as something less than killing the English. The average mind is taken upon you and your children." An additional example of the best spirit of revenge which permeated every strain of official English life is that of the death of an Englishman: "We went to kill a man; several men in possible."

The sudden awakening of the masses, exposed by the proceedings of Mahatma Gandhi, had so stirred the British bureaucracy by surprise that they refused to recognise the case here open. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Governor of the Province, after having been told that the whole trouble was due to official provocation is reported to have told the speaker, a Punjab legislative councillor, with much heat:

"Excuse Sir, remember there is another hell greater than Gandhi's and mine."

The Report mentions with tragic detail the story of the "men of letters and professors of blood" and all the hell that followed, in which "in less than two hours more than a hundred persons were wounded. The vengeance taken by the government officials was out of all proportion to the wrong done by the people—a wrong committed under gross provocation. The day's terrible administration during the martial law period were devoid of reason and sanity, as was the very imposition of the martial law days after the disturbance had subsided."

The Prime of the country spoke approvingly of the suggestions made by Mr. Harkness, that the military

on the 15th of April. The Indian Commissioners, however, have not adopted this view, as the documents concerning the circumstances were not handed over to them by the Indian Government, but nevertheless it remains true, say The *Times* that "the policy, presumably with the knowledge and concurrence of General Dyer, took steps to make the movement as successful as possible. They chose the Banaboli (a religious Festival) Day when an enormous number of people from outside plunged to Amritsar. They secured a sufficiency of vehicles to be pumbed. We are usually aware that General Dyer and the officials planned to attempt in large a concourse of people in a restricted area as could be managed, in order to destroy a large number—thinking them to 'india burn' in the minds of the Indian public."

The judgment arrived at by the Inquiry Commission of the Indian National Congress on the whole situation, may be summarized as follows:

1. The Rowlatt Act should be rescinded.
2. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and others, should be removed from any position of responsibility under the Crown.

3. His Excellency, the Viceroy, should be recalled.

4. The police should be reformed.

5. All laws and ordinances imposed upon the people should be reformed.

Though the general sentiment of the people is not in accord with the "imperialism and authoritarianism" of the Commissioners, the truthfulness and responsibility of their Report is universally recognized.

"Without having a glint of a chance of getting the policy officers dismissed and the other demands of the committee fulfilled," the *Independent*, of Allahabad, observes, "our only chance of getting any reform at all for the wrongs done, lies in securing the independence of the British, and in creating a world opinion against such outrages."

To our mind the Report has two functions to fulfil, namely, to teach to future generations of the Indian people the story they owe their Motherland, and, to raise the conscience of mankind to the treatment and question of what is probably the worst imperialism now existing in the world.

The Government of India Act

By ST. NERAL SIVANI

MR. ST. NERAL SIVANI is an eminent Indian publicist and author now residing in London, who has spent many years in America and England. He has published several important books, and has written extensively for leading periodicals in England, India and the country.

The new Government of India Act is the creation of Mr. Edwin Samuel

Montagu, the present British Secretary of State for India. Many persons, both Hindus and Indians, were associated with him in the task of formulating and pushing it through Parliament, but the initiative came largely from him.

A few days before Mr. Montagu

stepped into his present office he very clearly and definitely told the House of Commons what was coming with the government of India. Speaking in the course of the Montagu debate on July 22th, 1917, he declared that the Government of India was "no wooden, too new, too isolated, too authoritarian, to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view." He also added that the Indian Office produced an "agglomeration of circumstances and red tape beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen."

Since it is not for a moment to be doubted that Mr. Montagu would speak political philosophy of one sort when out of office, and another sort when in office, it may be asked how far the new Act (1) changes the character of the Government of India, which he denounced as authoritarian, and (2) how far it frees the Indian Office from "agglomeration and red tape."

First as to the Government of India. The Act itself is a mere skeleton, and vague as regard to the changes it proposes to effect in the central government. But it is supposed to be read in the light of the report made by the Joint Select Committee of the House of Commons and the House of Lords appointed to consider the Government of India Bill. That report clearly stated that it was outside the sphere of the Bill referred to the Committee, "to introduce at the present stage any measure of responsible government into the central administration." By "responsible government" is, of course, meant Parliamentary or representative government, more particularly a system (such as the British) in which the executive is the servant of

Parliament and controlled by it. The plan envisaged of the statement, there too, is that the Act reforms to a certain rule by democracy (Indians prefer to call it "autocracy") by, rule of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Not only has there been no attempt to subject the central government of India to Indian control, but the central executive of that government is to remain preponderantly non-Indian. The number of Indians in the Governor-General's Council (called the Executive Council) is to be increased from one to three, but at the same time it is clearly laid down in the manner that the maximum strength of that Council required by statute is to be increased. In a short time, it is expected that the number of portfolios will be increased and through such increase the number of Englishmen in the Council will be raised, so that the proportion of Indians in Englishmen in the Council will in no case be permitted to approach anywhere near half.

To the Council, thus preponderatingly British, will be left full power as to the changes to be introduced into the Indian fields. While the Government of India Bill was in Committee in the House of Commons, Colonel Northcote, the member of the Indian mission on the Montagu mission, pointedly asked Mr. Montagu if he intended to leave the residue of control to the Indian Assembly. The Secretary of State replied that the Governor-General and his colleagues shall still have the power to initiate proposals, and such proposals will come before the legislature in the form of a Bill.

It remains to be seen whether the

hierarchy in India will permit a really democratic legislation to come into being, and hence is done and recommended. But assuming that a strong legislative power was given, the Act gives the Governor-General and his British colleagues full power to override the will of the legislature, not only in regard to matters but in all matters. Legally, the Legislative Assembly will have little more authority than a debating society.

While it may readily be accepted that Indians in the reconstructed Government of India will have greater opportunity to know what is going on in the most sacred of the central Government, and have much greater opportunity to express their opinions, it is quite clear that the Government of India, as altered by the new Act, will not in any measure derive its authority from the Indian people or be based upon Indian consent. It is needless to add that so long as that remains the case, the Government of India will continue to be "an alien, the eyes, the hands, the intellects to be of any use for modern purposes."

To turn to the India Office in London. The Act is even more alien in regard to the reconstruction of the new chambers in colonial administration in India from Whitehall, than in regard to the central Indian government.

It may, however, be taken for granted that the Secretary of State for India will, in future, be considerably freed from the leading strings of the Council. That is a distinct gain, because that Council is dominated by Englishmen who have spent most of their lives in playing at being much Moghuls in

India, and who, as they return to their own country, seek to perpetuate the British monopoly of power in India. The work of the India Office in London, it may also be assumed, will be greatly lightened, for it is contemplated to permit the transference of administrative business in such a possible as India. The powers of both the central Government of India and of the provincial governments in India are to be increased.

It is, therefore, not unreasonable to expect that in future the London India Office will not produce the "impression of confusion and red tape" to so great an extent as it does at present. It is meant to be seen, however, whether or not such a relief as may be secured will conduce to the better government of India.

Personally I look with apprehension upon any relaxation of Parliamentary supervision and control so long as officials in India remain outside Indian control, however, however Parliamentary check might be unsatisfactory. Thus, a convention has been laid down that the only circumstances in which officials in India can be relieved of the intervention of the India Office is for them to incur the consequences of their respective legislatures. If the legislature were to be made supreme, this doctrine would no doubt cease much. But it is to be remembered that nothing of the sort is contemplated. The secretary in India, moreover, has been entrusted so totally as an autocratic manner, and so they said it has not been used to constitutional practice. In the event I fear that the transference of one intervention may find

Indian legislatures to make haggard work the executive, which may be far from ideal. This may especially prove to be the case if the legislatures that come into being are elected upon an undemocratic basis, as is so power contemplated, and the officials, who certainly are extremely capable, may find it easy to lead them.

British financiers, industrialists and manufacturers in India have been given preferential treatment in regard to representation in more than one provincial (Borneo, in the American sense) legislatures and in the central Assembly. Since the era of intensive exploitation of India's raw materials and labor has already opened, the influence that the non-Indian officials and manufacturers may be given there must may prove to be formidable. This may especially be the case of Indian provinces join hands with them.

It is extremely significant that even the legislatures in the provinces (Borneo) will not speak of the central legislative Assembly, will not be permitted to control "industrial development" nor "welfare of labor." Such share subjects, together with law, order, justice, and land revenue (the main source of revenue), are to be reserved as "reserved"—that is to say, in all these matters the provincial (Borneo) executives with the sanction of the superior authorities, will be able to ignore the will of the legislatures and may easily do so in fact. No machinery whatever has been provided whereby even ultimately the legislatures can make the executive act in accordance with popular wishes.

In view of the reasons mentioned

last year by the officials in the Punjab—reasons that, not without reason, have been compared with the German law-makers in Belgium—it is particularly to be deplored that the police—extremely corrupt and high-handed—is to be centrally outside the control of the people's representatives in the provinces. The central authority, though possessing full powers of appointment and even over-riding administration in that province, gain over them to the provincial authority and, upon finding that officials in that province had committed acts for which they had no legal sanction, later passed an Act to indemnify them instead of punishing them for exceeding authority.

Only by substituting rule of the people in place of rule by the bureaucracy can the example be given which India needs be removed, and India made progressive and happy. As I have shown, so far as the central Government is concerned, nothing of that sort has been attempted by the authors of the new Government of India Act. There is the previous effort has been made to make only a part of the administrative functions so that ideal.

The reason assigned for proceeding so unsatisfactorily is that Indians are unprepared in the art of constitutional government, and discussion have to be created and ordered. That statement may come as a surprise, at least to people in America. While often only a quarter of a century Americans are able to say that the Indians are to be independent, the British, after a century and a half, find Indians only even to run their State governments.

India's main interest lies in the fact that

the previous thousands of Barons with opportunities to carve careers and to grow rich. One has but to read the statements made before the Parliamentary Committee, and later in Parliament, to realize how powerful these British barons are.

No wonder that Mr. Montagu, with the loss of opportunity and with all his force of character and argument, has been unable to drive the bureaucracy out of control except in a small and comparatively less vital portion of the provincial administrations. On this score, I am assured that he has been able to effect any branch whatever in the midst of the bureaucracy. I know of

no British barons who would—or could—have done as much.

Through no fault some of gratitude, however, our Indians feel—in some of Mr. Montagu's portions would have been felt—that the fight for constitutional government has been even—much less than India has been given Home Rule. While there is reason to be happy that bureaucracy has yielded ground, it cannot be forgotten that it has still to be ousted from an stronghold. Not only rule of the people is actually subordinated to place of bureaucratic rule, both in the centre and the provinces, but any patriotic Indian regards the struggle to be won.

India Reform Scheme

Mr. H. K. Loh's Convention

Mr. Harindrabhai was one of the members of the British mission in the Punjab last year. The Government, in its blind and foolish alarm—its panic—consulted him with other leaders as a planner of revolution, and ordered his transportation, for life and the confiscation of his property. Months later, however, when it had partly regained its sanity, and had discovered that there was not the slightest evidence against him, his sentence was revoked. At the recent meeting of the Punjab Provincial Conference Mr. Harindrabhai was made President. In his presidential address he discussed with much vigour and insight the New Indian Reform Scheme, known as the Government of India Act of 1919. We give below an extract from his address.

"Are the reforms sufficient?"

Our reply is—

We want universal education, for males and females, which is not possible until education is free. Will the Reforms effect this?

We want our sanitation, our medical arrangements and our other physical requirements and improvements, so to change as to induce the rate of mortality, in all ages, to the corresponding figures of the civilized European states. Will the Reforms effect these?

We want the stoppage of the drain on our resources, which is unequalled in the world. We maintain a foreign army at a huge expense; we buy the major part of our war and army requirements on foreign lands; we pay a huge sum for foreign loans, at big large rates of interest, on foreign loans by way of in-

terest; we maintain civil and military services mostly recruited from foreign lands, on salaries unequalled in the world. In commerce and trade we secure outside, back outside, our foreign business, and employ foreign agents. How far will the Reforms improve these conditions in our lives?

Our railways are run by foreigners and our houses and mines are worked by foreigners. Will the Reforms change this state of affairs?

We are woefully treated as inferior creatures in our own country, and we have no standing place in any of the other lands of the world. Will the Reforms induce our legitimate grievances in these respects?

Our laws are not made by us, and justice is a far off city in our own land, in certain aspects of human life. Will the Reforms not also complete this right?

Local, Municipal and District Boards are mere names. Will the Reforms effect required and necessary changes in these?

The country suffers from frequent

and recurring famines, and spreading and chronic poverty. The Reforms were to improve these conditions. Will these conditions be improved by the Reforms proposed?

Agreements in principle, and undertakings almost unqualified, have there may be "transferred" subjects. Will the transfer of these subjects to the charge and care of Indian ministers, under the proposed reforms, effect any considerable or important rapid improvement in these directions?

We want all exceptional and urgent Acts and Regulations made in the interest of India Act, the Revenue Act, the Forests Census Act, and all other Acts and Regulations of a like technical nature, repealed and replaced from our Statute Book. Is this possible under the present Reforms?

These are the things that India wants to know. The Government's Reform Scheme will stand or fall according to its answers these questions, which are vital to India's life, in a way to satisfy the just demands of the Indian people.

India Finance

Whenever other lands India may obtain from British rule, it may rather be stated that India is not gaining from the point of view of national finance. The financial statements of the Hon. Mr. Stanley, and his remarks dealing with the several statements of 1919-20 and the estimates for 1920-21, are in-

teresting from many points of view. The total Imperial revenue is placed at £25,000,000, or \$25,000,000, and expenditure at £20,000,000, or \$20,000,000 (one pound being equal to \$2.40). The significance of this total may be noted from the table showing the growth of Imperial revenue from

1912, as follows.

1911	£12,641,000
1912	13,076,000
1913	12,028,000
1914	11,523,000
1915	12,000,000
1916	12,484,000

Compared to the previous period, the revenue and expenditure have declined. It may be assumed that other countries have had the same experience. But, it must be remembered that India has not been in the war by choice or for benefit, and that the last six foreign budgets as estimates to make up for the loss, she gains little or nothing by the war, in any way.

The sources of revenue are about the same as usual. Agriculture being the only industry of any magnitude had revenue from about one-quarter of the total revenue. Practically the whole of the total revenue of railways in India are Government-controlled, and this revenue from railways is about the same total as that from land. The third most important source of revenue is Customs, which yielded last year about one-fourth of the total. Excise and salt together yield as much as the customs, while stamp duties and income-tax together give a total yield of another sixth. The balance of the revenues are derived from the sources that are government monopolies like posts and telegraphs, forests, opium, meat and public works. By the way, it is worth noting that as commerce in India, although at a tremendous loss in loss to £10 per annum, yields only a total of about £5,000,000. This shows how poor the country is.

When we come to the expenditure side of the budget, we see the heavy hand of foreign rule in India. Although India is a British possession, the Indian people are paying £41,000,000 out of the total revenue of that country to meet military expenditure, so, in fact it is emphatically, for them "defense". In other words, the enormous amount is paid by the Indian people to enable the British to hold them by force of arms, and defray the expenditure of British Imperial adventures in Persia, Mesopotamia, and Central Asia. There is no example, person or past, of any country being forced to pay such a large part of its revenue for the kind of expenditure. The next important item of expenditure is £21,000,000 on railways. Most of the new budgets are strategic roads, intended to facilitate the British keeping India under subjugation, and are of practically no benefit to the Indian people. Part of the railway expenditure is capital outlay. Civil salaries and civil charges, like exchange commissions, benefiting only the Britishers, and not the rest of the staff, amount to nearly £10,000,000 part of which, however, comes from the provincial revenues. The imperial revenue relies on contributions whatever towards expenditure like education, sanitation, and such other needs that benefit the people. The total expenditure on education is under £5,000,000 or 4 per cent. of the total revenue of India Imperial and provincial revenues combined.

All the provincial budgets show deficits, there being no source of income, they are at their wits' end as to how to face the situation. Further, India has to pay £10,000,000 towards the debt con-

tinued for the prosecution of the war, while she has had little or no income or imperial expenditure.

But the most extraordinary part of the budget is its assumption with regard to exchange. The finance minister says: "We have assumed that the average rate for the rupee on the exchange will not be below 1s. 10d." As a matter of fact, the rate, within two months of the prosecution of the budget, has come to 1s. 1d. If the rupee on the exchange does not improve, the whole surplus will be wiped off, and there will be deficit besides.

The country has been loaded with a heavy debt, as a result of the war,

mainly by the levy of, for all practical purposes, forced loans. The effect of such loans is most felt in the high prices prevailing in the country, where one-third of the population lives on the verge of famine. As a result, the seriousness of the situation is not finally felt because of the good monsoon and bumper crops of this season. But, even a drought of undiminished magnitude will produce serious consequences. There will be no remedy for the poverty and starvation in India, until the country has an administration that pays more attention to the welfare of the people of the land, and less to imperial expenditure and extension of foreign influence with the country.

Turkish Problem in India

From the extensive accounts which daily fill the columns of the Indian Press it is evident that the settlement of the Turkish problem is occupying the most concentrated attention of all India. Conferences are being held in every city of importance, and demonstrations with the allied attitude toward Turkey has been organized at each such gathering.

At one conference in Delhi Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who is leader of the Pan-Indian movement in India, announced that the plan of action is one of an unflinching resistance would be.

Renunciation of all government titles and civil employment.

Resignation from all police and military employment.

Refusal to pay taxes and other governmental duties.

The announcement is the first of its kind to have been made by any body of

Hindus and Mohammedans, and, indeed, we believe, very clearly that the current and dissemination is a most wide spread than ever.

What India's relation to the current problem of Turkey is may well be questioned by those to whom it would appear that it is naturally outside the province of Hindu matters. "There there is a very real relation has been pointed out by Lala Lajpat Rai, former Editor of *Young India* in a recent article on entitled in the *Independent* of Allahabad. In this he analyzes the situation and remarks:

"English measures object to the interference of Indian Mohammedans in the affairs of the Turkish Empire. India should emphatically record a protest against this view. Turkey was defeated mainly by the Indian arms, for which India paid. That fact alone gives every

India, Hindu or Mohammedan or Buddhist, a right to be heard in the Turkish settlement.

"Any settlement of the affairs of Turkey based on purely Imperial consideration or from the point of view of European nations, is bound to lead to war in the Near East, and war in the East means heavy military expenditure. The military danger is already making our blood run cold."

Looked at from that point of view the Turkish question is to India either, and must remain our best friend. Even if there were no Mohammedans in India we would be really interested in the problem, a wrong solution of which is likely to involve us in heavy military expenditure which can be avoided only by stirring all these departments of national life upon which progress depends.

"It is a national duty to know and consider Indian opinion on the Turkish question and to pass it on to the British people for consideration. It is not a question that affects Mohammedans only. Let us not that affect every August and every Indian, say every human being. Do we want an extension of the war, or do we want peace? Lord Curzon favours an extension not in Asia, and

this may be taken as a certainty of the Turkish question is not settled satisfactorily."

Another writer in the same newspaper touches upon a rather remote aspect of the problem. He does, however, raise some significant truths. In the course of his treatment of the subject he says, speaking of India's relation to Turkey in the coming far distant future:

"Autonomous India will be late no two wide problems of international importance—and will seek alliances with foreign powers for the development of her economic interests. Her natural allies will then be found primarily in Asia and next in Europe. As such a state she will need the cooperation of all powers of Asia, including Japan and China, and it will be to her own interest to preserve the friendship of Afghanistan, Persia, and other Muslim powers of Asia. The Turkish question viewed in this light becomes a matter of vital concern, in so far as it is the one bond of connecting community which binds the 'Muslims of the world' together."

How very pertinent this point of view is at the present time, may be questioned. It is, however, of vital significance in the future history of Asia.

A league of the dominant white powers is entered with the maximum emphasis the rest of the world, and its varied collisions is properly the cause of regretting especially to the peoples of Asia and Africa. At the present time there

is no finer idealism anywhere than hereafter through the writings of Norman Redland, or Henri Barbusse, or which finds lively expression in *Lausanne's Judgment of Peace*. It is a pity that we shall never overcome any word we overcome the type of nationalism which made this war possible. Yet I can well imagine that this internationalism, beautiful and true as it is, may sometimes be regarded with suspicion by the Hindu who finds himself obliged to work to establish nationalism as the way of freedom from economic and political imperialism.

It is part of the price the imperialistic nations may have to pay for their past sins, that at the very moment that in the state of India a new internationalism is growing up, leaders of liberty in countries like Ireland, India and Egypt, find themselves driven to think in terms of an extreme nationalism.

Yet the difficulty is most apparent that real, provided both internationalism and nationalism are rightly understood. The ideal of a federation of free peoples is at once all that the internationalist or nationalist might wish. The supranational is the enemy of both. The nationalism which is dangerous is the nationalism which conceives of the political unit as its end in itself as the adequate expression of national aspirations and as the ultimate unit in the organization of our common society. So long as every state is free to be self-sufficient in a world of unfriendly rivals we shall not have peace or brotherhood, so long as the principle of retaliation goes ever so much into a desire to dominate other people, life on this earth will continue

to be a tragedy. The internationalism that is dangerous is an internationalism which is a cloak for imperialism and contemptuous of the value of varying racial cultures.

On the one hand the internationalist must beware of the hypocrisy of preaching internationalism to a people whom his own government is exploiting. The British internationalist cannot so far from speak to the Hindu as the Hindu the language of internationalism so long as he is willing to maintain British economic domination in those areas and deny to them the rights of national self-expression. On the other hand the nationalist needs to remember that the cause of freedom is always one, and that India has ever been close for the world as a whole by trying to give a particularistic freedom which puts the emphasis on the subjective rather than the mass. We must be interested in freedom—for all men, not in the freedom of Belgium, or Poland, or Ireland, or India, or our own country. This is a hard saying for the men of an oppressed nation, but it is one whose truth is established by history. The attainment of a government based on hate of one's neighbor has been a curse rather than a blessing to the peoples of Central Europe.

It is especially important that the reconciliation of true internationalism with nationalism should be effective before the chaos between white people on the one side and the Asiatics and Africans on the other grows wider and deeper. Every student of history knows that in its extreme form the ruin of racial antagonism which has affected every 15-

Internationalism and India

By NORMAN THOMAS

One of the prevailing problems of our time is the way in which public ideals may be subverted to base ends. The original idea of the League of Nations was most good, yet in the Treaty of Paris it became no more or less than

a league of the dominant white powers in control with the maximum emphasis the rest of the world, and its varied collisions is properly the cause of regretting especially to the peoples of Asia and Africa. At the present time there

with, among Europeans and Americans is modern. At one time Europe looked up to Asia, not down, and the earlier travellers in India have none of the arrogance with which the modern British Raj or American white man treats those whose skins are of another color. Nevertheless, it has come to pass for nations deservng more psychological study than they have yet received, that racial antagonism has become the more powerful ally of economic co-operation and of the maintenance of a system of exploitation. I have said that the reason for this double-sided study, but this much we do know: a primary factor in keeping alive this prejudice and better race consciousness in the minds of groups of exploiters who do not want whg, ideas to make common cause with the oppressed of every land.

If these general observations on unprofitable discussions, and impractical ones are true, they have a profound bearing upon the problem of freedom in In-

dia. If Indian freedom is won in the old way by hate and by war, if in India after terrible struggle there is created one more great centralized capitalistic state, little thinking will come to mind. If Indian freedom, however, means not so much the establishment of a new political state as the maintenance of a national culture, if it means not the establishment of an Asiatic capitalism, but the creation of the principle of co-operation, if it is achieved less by appeal to hate than by an appeal to the common interests of the workers the world around, then it will prove a source of insatiable blessing to the whole world. The struggle for freedom in other words requires a new method and a new philosophy. Some of us look to the men of the East, to the young and ardent Indian revolutionists with their sense of the primary importance of economic problems, and perhaps especially to Mr. Gandhi and his movement of *Swadeshi* (*hand-made*), to show the way to the West.

India and Foreign Rule

By J. T. SCOTT-SMITH

When Englishmen try to justify themselves for holding India in subjection by saying "We are only doing what has always been done," India has always been a subject nation. She has always been ruled by foreigners because she is incapable of ruling herself. Therefore we are doing her no wrong. If we want not these same other foreign powers would be, which would not govern her so well as we do. Therefore we feel wholly justified in continuing our domination. Indeed we consider that we

are doing her a kindness by continuing our rule."

What is to be said in reply to this claim? The reply to be made is that the claim is pure nonsense. The truth is the very opposite of what these Englishmen say. Instead of India always having been a subject nation ruled by a foreign power, every before us all her long history of 3,000 years has the fact such as experience. The present British domination is the first foreign rule of any duration she has ever known. To

be sure, at different times foreign conquerors have swept with their armies across her borders, and over parts of her territory, but always these invasions have been of only passing of India or else they have been temporary, or both.

Probably the foreign rule that these Englishmen have primarily in mind is that of the Mogul Emperors who reign of over most of India during the centuries immediately preceding the coming of the British. But these Mogul Rulers were not foreign in any such sense as the British Rulers of India are. The first of these monarchs, Babur, came from a foreign land, but he settled down in India and took to it, and all his successors made India their permanent home, identified themselves wholly with the interests of India and ruled the land as Indians, not as foreign conquerors.

They were foreign in the sense in which the conquerors of England have been foreign since the time of William the Conqueror. William came from abroad, but he came to be an English, not a foreign, King, and all his successors have regarded England as their own country, and have regarded as English laws and customs.

The Mogul rulers of India were foreign only in the sense that all the Presidents of the United States have been foreign. All the Presidents have been descendants of men who came to America at some time from foreign lands. But they came to make America their home and to be Americans, and therefore these descendants are rightly thought of as Americans.

In exactly the same way the Mogul

Emperors are rightly to be considered as Indian rulers, not as foreigners.

But the case of the present rule of Great Britain in India is wholly different. These British rulers are foreigners and never become anything else. They are born thousands of miles from India; they come to India for the direct purpose of ruling the country as a foreign and subject land; they never identify themselves with the people whom they rule, when they do not even learn to speak the language, but are obliged to depend upon interpreters for communication with the people; they never call India home; as soon as their terms of office are over, they hurry back to England, the land where all their interests and home are.

It is as if a nation in a distant part of the world—say the Japanese—should come by a long sea voyage to England, conquer the country, deposit its laws and us, and themselves, without the consent of the English, govern it arbitrarily, wholly by men sent from Japan, who never settle in England and never identify themselves permanently with England's interests, but are there to exploit the country for Japan's benefit and to return home to Japan as soon as their periods of office expire. This is exactly the rule which Great Britain maintains in India. Instead of being in long with previous Indian experience, it is something absolutely new in Indian history.

And because it is so new, so wholly foreign, so wholly arbitrary, so wholly without the consent of the Indian people, and so wholly out of sympathy with Indian experience and ideals, it is none galling than any rule that India has ever known.

By SARADINI NAIK

Springtime, O Springtime, what is your earnest,
The lift of a ballad, the laugh of a rose,
The dance of the dew on the wings of the moonbeam,
The voice of a rephrizer that sings on the goss,
The hope of a bride or the dream of a maiden
Watching the petals of gladiolus unclose?

Springtime, O Springtime, what is your secret,
The blue of the rose of your magical north,
That quickens the pulse of the morning to wonder
And hastens the seed of all beauty to birth,
The roots of delight in the heart of the earth?
That captures the heavens and conquers the blossom,

A Lesson from Missionaries

We would like to call attention to the fact that seemingly political and social reformism in India may learn an important lesson, in no respect at least, from the Christian missionaries.

Some of the missionaries are beginning very clearly to realize that a foreign form of Christianity—a European Christianity or an American Christianity—will not do for India. If India is ever to become Christianized it must be by a Christianity adapted to her peculiar needs, and through the agency of India's own men, who know India, her mind, her spirit, her weakness and her strength, her limitations and her powers there,—in a word, who understand what kind of a religion it is possible to plant and make fruitful in her unlettered, unaid, and spiritual soil.

It cannot be a Christianity shaped in the West, with its note and dogmas and

theologies which have given out of western religious controversies, and with rituals and forms and organizations which are adapted to Europe and America but not to the Orient.

A Christian missionary in India has recently said—

"It is all very well for the West to send missionaries to India and expect great things of them. They have done wonders, but the thing they are accomplishing is well never to be accomplished by their own hands. If India is ever to be won to Christ, it will be the Indians themselves who do it. The Indian has a type of mind and a temperament of his own, and I believe these are very few, if any. Whomever who have ever understood it. Only the Indian can know his own people; only he can really portray the Christ who will appeal to the Hindu mind. Until now

the burden of evangelization has rested almost wholly upon the missionaries' shoulders. There must be a radical change. The vital need of Christianity in India is Indian help. Indian young men with fire and red blood and vision, to give to the land a Christianity which will remember that Jesus was an Oriental, that the Bible is an Oriental book, and that will be alive and throbbing with the Oriental spirit. A Western Christianity, a foreign Christianity shaped in Europe and distant lands, and preached by foreign men, can never win India, or serve her real spiritual wants."

If the principle mentioned here is true in religion, it is also true in government and in all political matters.

The missionaries from the far West are better qualified to give India a Christianity suited to her needs than foreign political rulers are to give her a government suited to her needs. For the missionaries are really sympathetic, they live among the people, get close to them, try to understand them, learn their languages, mingle with them in the most intimate ways.

But the British rulers and officials in India for the most part are unsympathetic, keep themselves apart from the people, look down on them, treat them with contempt, almost never get into close and confidential relations with them, do not feel a personal and permanent interest in them, create and maintain a cold, heartless bureaucratic machine, for ruling the country, collecting the taxes, and so forth, have their hearts in far off England, always call that "home," view it as office as they

run, send their children there to be educated, look eagerly forward to the time when free period of hard foreign service will be over and they can quit the land of their banishment and go home, leaving the despised Indians to their fate.

Now, in the nature of things, such men are not fit to rule India.

They are not half so well fitted to give her such a government to the people as the missionaries are to give her such a Christianity, in the needs.

And if the wiser missionaries are wiser and more sympathetic than foreign Christianity in India, is it not only a temporary makeshift, which at once as possible must be changed to a distinctly Indian Christianity, led by Indian men, adapted to Indian ideals and temperaments, and its church members and government and maintained by the Indians themselves themselves,—if this is so, then why does not India see, why do we not see, and why does not the whole world see, that will more or less trust, that an Indian government and Indian political institutions created and shaped by experienced and sympathetic foreigners are bad, intrinsically and necessarily bad, can never be made anything like that bad, and should as soon as possible be changed to a government and to political institutions suited to India's history, culture, traditions, aptitudes, wants, weaknesses. Every country in this world must stand on its own legs,—an religion if its religion is to be anything worth while, and quite as much in government if its government is to be anything else but a tyranny and a curse.

1200 Killed -- 3600 Wounded! Why?

Bertrand Russel, in a most thoughtful essay recently said:

"The ultimate possibilities of freedom are greater than ever before but the dangers are also great, and the immediate future is very difficult. The world since the war is more stark, less easy going, more brutal."

No more frightful illustration of this can be found than in the Amritsar Massacre of 1919 in India, which was the clearest evidence of British officialdom running wild.

The course of events which culminated in the "Imperialistic butchery," in which 1200 were killed and 3600 wounded—the first authentic story of the actual details of the disturbances that shook India to its foundations for a whole year is the subject of the

Indian National Congress Report on the Punjab Disturbances

The report is the result of many months of investigation by a committee appointed by the Indian National Congress, India's unofficial parliament. It reviews the powerful movement against the coercive Rowland Act. It is a digest of the evidence of 1700 witnesses who have spoken without fear of consequences. It is an indictment of British imperialistic rule in India from the mouths of Englishmen themselves. Says the Report:

A prominent official made this remark: "For every English life one thousand Indians will be sacrificed. . . . The revenge will be taken upon you and your children."

Another official declared:

"We want to kill as many damned swine as possible."

These show the character of the British rulers of India.

"Young India" has received a number of copies of the Report for its readers. Americans now have the opportunity to know the sinister history of India as it has never been revealed. The report is a mine of information on British official psychology.

Send in your order now. Check the offer which you choose.

"Young India," 1400 Broadway, New York City.

Please send me

- 2 volumes of Report on Punjab Disturbances.....\$3.50
- 2 volumes of Report with La Motte's "Opium Monopoly".....\$4.00
- 2 volumes of Report and "Young India" for one year.....\$4.75

Name.....

Address.....